1: Karsten--542-544
116, 194

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of the sounds of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 542-544.]

25 Vigna--38 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 214, 194

Good studies and essays are to be found on the Jibaro language. The Salesian Missionaries today have a grammar and dictionary of the Jibaro tongue, printed through the direct interest of the Ecuadorian supreme government. They have also written many essays on this language for the purpose of catechising. As the Jibaro up to the present is solely a spoken language, and therefore subject to modifications and alterations, sometimes local and even individual, and since it has not undergone crystallization of any kind in signs, characters, or monuments, it does not have its own writing. The phonology of the Spanish language has been used in order to organize it.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradiction between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jivaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[10] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ahuton*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jivaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jivaro proper," "Jivaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jivaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jivaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jivaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jivaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*alwara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jivaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jivaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- č Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following *č* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following *č* or *l* plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *n* when *i* is adjacent)

12:Harner E-4 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a faint *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *w*, palatalized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *b* when adjacent to *n*)
y Spanish *y*

Unstressed French-contracted to ultimate syllables are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided invaluable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1959) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Rio Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[7] One exception is the *tsetsatl* arutam which only wanders aimlessly when it manifests.

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awap*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The arutam-soul resident inside body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The function of this for the culture can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[12] Muikiak may be alternatively pronounced *maiaks*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *nunuk* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach some farther revenging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsentsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any materials contrary to those in the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

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